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ABSTRACT

Boys' reluctance to participate in music education programs, particularly in school singing groups -- termed in this paper the "missing males" problem -- is just one among many pressing gender problems in music education. In order to discover whether boys' lack of participation in music, along with other gender-related issues, are merely recent phenomena, the study sought to discover whether these issues were of concern to music educators in the early part of the 20th century. A descriptive study of the Music Supervisors' Journal, a publication of one of the earliest music educators' organizations in the United States, was conducted. The goal was to identify all educational issues that today would be considered explicitly gender related and to analyze the explanations past music educators gave for the existence of gender-related problems. A critique of the solutions put forth by journal contributors also was given. All articles in the first 10 volumes (1914-1924) of the Music Supervisors' Journal were reviewed and a critical textual analysis of every gender related reference was undertaken. A gender related reference was defined as (a) the mentioning of either males or females as a group, or (b) the mentioning of single-sex activities or organizations. The study analyzed the following male-related issues discussed by the journal: the missing males, the role of music in the education of boys, career opportunities in music for males, the relationship of music to the nature and the character development of boys, boys' musical likes and dislikes, the male singing voice, and music for the man at war. By contrast, the study found that the journal devoted little attention exclusively to females, their interests, or their problems. The study concludes that the current preoccupation with males and male problems in music education has deep historical roots, and that little has changed from the beginning to the end of the 20th century in this area. (DB)

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THE "MISSING MALES" AND OTHER GENDER-RELATED ISSUES IN MUSIC EDUCATION: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE FROM THE MUSIC SUPERVISORS' JOURNAL, 1914-1924

An Invited Address
Presented at the Annual Meeting of the
American Educational Research Association
San Francisco, California
April 22, 1992

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Boys' reticence to participate in music education programs, particularly in school singing groups, is a reality that many contemporary music educators would identify as a problem. The headline of an advertisement in a recent issue of a music education journal queried, "Need Male Singers In Your Vocal Program?" This eye-catching headline suggests that the "missing males" problem is on the minds of more than a few music teachers today.

"Missing males" is just one among an array of pressing gender problems in music education, most of which have only recently attracted the attention of music education scholars; however, the problems themselves, including the issue of missing males, are not new. For example, popular American women's magazines of the mid-nineteenth century alluded to the missing males problem by indicating that boys were far less likely to study music than girls. These magazines contained lively discussions of whether music was an appropriately masculine endeavor, and they also provided information about sex stereotypes associated with specific musical instruments and activities.[1] Thus, some contemporary gender issues appear to have roots in beliefs that can be traced back at least as far as the beginnings of the public school music movement.

Because gender issues are a relatively new addition to the music education research agenda, links between contemporary problems and past beliefs have yet to be fully traced. For example, scholars have yet to ascertain whether specific gender issues have persisted throughout the past century and a half. Also unknown is whether gender issues attracted the attention of past music educators.

Prompted by curiosity about whether boys' lack of participation in music, or any other gender-related issue, was of concern to music educators in the early part of the twentieth century, I conducted a descriptive study of the Music Supervisor's Journal, a publication of one of the earliest music educators' organizations in the United States. My goal was to identify all educational issues that today would be considered explicitly gender related and to analyze the explanations past music

educators gave for the existence of gender-related problems. Finally, I critiqued solutions proffered by Journal contributors. The decision to examine historical texts was based on my belief that current issues can best be understood and addressed when their historical roots are known.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical foundation for this work draws from a socialist feminist definition of gender, as explained by Alison M. Jaggar, and from a critical sociology of school knowledge as articulated by Michael Apple. Socialist feminists have postulated that gender is a social construct, the characteristics of which, according to Jaggar, are "related systematically to the historically prevailing system of organizing social production."[2] Jaggar adds that rigid definitions of masculinity and femininity contribute to the maintenance of male dominance.[3]

In his critical analysis of education, Apple has argued that schools "act as agents of cultural and ideological hegemony"[4]--as sites of cultural reproduction, where unequal power relations of the dominant culture, including gender relations, tend to be recreated and perpetuated. He also has acknowledged that schools can challenge this dominant culture; ~~thus, they are capable both of supporting unequal power relations and also of contesting them~~.[5] Apple argues that the selective tradition, the process of deciding what is "socially legitimate knowledge," plays a central role in cultural reproduction/challenge.[6] He contends that beyond the question of what constitutes legitimate knowledge lie other critical issues: "Whose knowledge is it? Who selected it? Why is it organized and taught in this way? To this particular group?"[7]

According to Apple, an examination of the selective tradition involves consideration not only of what is present, but also of what is missing from the corpus of legitimate knowledge. ~~Silence or~~ The absence of knowledge can be a sign of disenfranchisement: "The lack of certain kinds of knowledge . . . is related, no doubt, to the absence in that group of certain kinds of political and

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economic power in society."[8]

The process of cultural reproduction/challenge is complex and involves many facets of schooling; the portion I explored involved teacher knowledge pertaining to music and gender. The Music Supervisor's Journal was a repository of "expert" knowledge on music teaching and a vehicle for the dissemination and interchange of this knowledge. As such, it contained not only information about the art and craft of teaching, but also evidence of the beliefs and values that informed teaching practices of the day. It is reasonable to assume that expert teacher knowledge based on sexist discourse leads to teaching practices that tend to reproduce unequal power relations, while other expert knowledge may challenge those relations.

Apple's questions concerning socially legitimate knowledge may be applied to teacher knowledge as well. By modifying their focus slightly, I adapted his questions to the narrow aims of my study: What gender issues were considered legitimate by contributing music educators during the early part of the twentieth century? Whose gender issues--whose knowledge, interests, and problems--were deemed worthy of attention? Who decided what was or was not of sufficient importance to be discussed? For whom was the journal designed? Finally, where were the silences and gaps--who were the people and what were the gender-related subjects not addressed?

My reading and analysis of the journals also was informed by reception theory, as interpreted by De Vaney and articulated by Iser and Fish.[9] As De Vaney notes, reception theory uncovers "the manner in which cultural messages are enfolded in the rhetoric of any communication."[10] Applied to the study at hand, reception theory helped uncover the manner in which cultural messages concerning gender were enfolded in the rhetoric of an early twentieth-century music journal. The theory assumes that texts contain "socially encoded messages which may be variously interpreted by readers"; although the reader creates the meaning of a text, the text itself positions the reader by the manner in which it draws its language from "larger texts or discourses."[11] Thus, while

acknowledging that there can be multiple ways of reading a text, I concur with poststructuralist feminist Chris Weedon in asserting that at given moments in time and space, there can be temporarily fixed dominant meanings.[12] Because reception theory assumes situated reading, I feel compelled to acknowledge my own position as a white, feminist, middle-class, female reader, who viewed these texts retrospectively and through post structuralist lenses. Method

I read all articles in the first ten volumes (1914-1924) of the Music Supervisor's Journal and undertook a critical textual analysis of every gender-related reference. A gender-related reference was defined as a.) the mentioning of either males or females as group, or b.) the mentioning of single-sex activities or organizations.[13] Notebook II, a database management program, enabled me to create a file for each relevant article and to access references by thematic strands.[14]

Advertising, even though it was commonplace in the Journal, was not examined in this study. Discussions of individual males or females were not considered. Furthermore, references in which terms such as "man" or "men" could have been interpreted to mean "a person" or "people" were not included. Such references were numerous and they contributed to the biased tone of the journal. However, the decision to exclude them was based on the assumption that such usage was standard practice at the time, and it was prompted by a desire to give contributors the benefit of the doubt in unclear passages.[15]

The Music Supervisors' Journal: Background and Perspectives

The Music Supervisors' Bulletin began publication in September 1914 under the auspices of the Music Supervisors' National Conference, an organization of music teachers founded in 1907. Intended as a "medium of interchange of ideas between present and future members of the National

Conference of Music Supervisors and all other persons who are interested in the question of music in schools," the Bulletin was the mouthpiece of one of the earliest professional organizations of school music teachers in the United States.[16] Renamed the Music Supervisors' Journal in 1915, the magazine continues to serve as a medium of interchange today; it assumed its present name, the Music Educators Journal, in 1934. The Bulletin/Journal was published four times each school year during the first five years of its existence and five times per year during the second five.[17]

"Expert" contributors included teachers, themselves, as well as college professors. Significantly, during the period analyzed in this study, the journal's editors, who presumably decided what was or was not published, both taught at universities. University of Wisconsin professor Peter W. Dykema was the Journal's first editor; George Oscar Bowen, of the University of Michigan, replaced Dykema in October 1921.

Journal readers presumably were music specialists (then called music supervisors) whose job it was to oversee the music instruction given by elementary classroom teachers and to provide music instruction on the high school level. Men and women alike served as music supervisors.

The precise size of the readership was difficult to determine, but the organization itself grew substantially during the period analyzed. A membership list published in 1915 included 332 names.[18] According to an editorial printed in October 1921, membership had grown to 1,439, or to approximately 11% of the estimated 13,600 music supervisors in the United States.[19] In 1922, the readership was reported at 12,000 even though actual membership in the organization numbered only 1,860.[20] Although the group size was relatively small, the organization's membership list is a "who's who" of early music education; therefore, small readership should not be interpreted to mean the journal was insignificant.

Early issues devoted considerable space to promoting the organization and its national meetings; survival both of the organization and of music education in the schools was very much on

the minds of early contributors. Over the years, content gradually evolved, so that by 1924, a larger number of lengthy essays on a variety of subjects was printed. Throughout the period, substantial space was given over to advertising. Gender issues, although sometimes discussed, did not top the list of frequently mentioned topics.

Although gender issues were addressed less often than other subjects, the stated goals of the organization relied on discourses consistent with sex-equity aims--equal opportunity, equal access to excellence, and inclusivity. Goals of inclusivity and equal opportunity were embodied in the organization's slogan, "Music for every child, every child for music."[21] The motto was radical in its defiance of traditional assumptions concerning who was entitled to music instruction and stood in contrast to ~~the~~ an established view that formal music education was a privilege of the wealthy or an opportunity to be extended only to an elite group identified as "talented."

Access to excellence was defined as access to education that developed the whole child. Music, it was argued, was uniquely qualified to cultivate aspects of the child that could not be addressed by other curricular areas; it was thus viewed as a necessary component in a comprehensive curriculum. In this respect, contributors forwarded an alternative and somewhat revolutionary definition of what constituted legitimate school knowledge. The journal's myriad justifications of music education indicated, however, that many segments of the population probably remained unconvinced of the merits of music.

Access to excellence also encompassed the fostering of high-quality music programs in which children were exposed to only the best music. Contributors saw their mission as one of upholding and advancing specific standards of taste by exposing students to a short list of styles and genres. While arguably narrow, definitions of high quality, whether in programs or in music, were clearly articulated by the contributors.

Findings

References in the Journal indicated that both coeducational and single-sex musical organizations abounded from 1914 through 1924, and that vocal and instrumental instruction for boys and girls was advocated.[22] However, when Journal discussions concentrated on one sex or the other, the spotlight usually was focused on males. In addition to the missing males problem, the Journal discussed the role of music in the education of boys, career opportunities in music for males, the relationship of music to the nature and the character development of boys, boys' musical likes and dislikes, the male singing voice, and music for the man at war. By contrast, the journal devoted little attention exclusively to females, their interests, or their problems. Furthermore, the nature and quality of coverage was different for females than for males. In order to illustrate this point, it is necessary first to closely examine discussions of male issues and then to compare these references to discussions of females.

Issues Pertaining to Males

Music in the Education of Boys

As indicated earlier, contributors clearly advocated the inclusion of music in the instruction of all children. However, if the education of one sex or the other was singled out for special consideration, attention usually was paid to boys. Some of these references to boys attempted to delineate how music fit into broader educational goals. Not surprisingly, contributors believed music played an integral role in a boy's education. An article critical of business men who opposed music study for their sons concluded by noting that too many men were concerned about "what men will produce instead of the more important idea of what will produce men."[23]. Clearly, the author

believed that music education was essential to a curriculum that would produce men. A. E. Winship, in an article promoting music appreciation courses, applauded music education for boys, and he outlined the merits of various components of a balanced curriculum: "Vocational education makes a lad handy; scholastics make him brainy; music and art may make him spiritual."[24]

Focus on the role of music in the education of males extended beyond concern with the elementary and secondary curriculum and included attention to the course work selected by men in college. For example, an annotated bibliography of "great books" for music educators included an article on the benefits of music for the college man.[25] One contributor warned that neglecting music in a male's education would lead down a slippery slope to decadent love of ragtime:

> Not long ago at the commencement exercises of one of our large universities an excellent orchestra was giving a concert of masterpieces. The young men of the audience trained to a finish in the three R's but with the usual American lack of the cultural and aesthetical, stopped the program of good music and clamored for rag time. The demand was so insistent the orchestra was unable to continue the concert. This is a striking example of an education that turns out men of this type who are, as stated before, in a rut, one-sided, selfish, discourteous. These men too are to become our governmental representatives or perhaps misrepresentatives would be a better term.[26]

Little was said about the role of music in the education of girls. However, on two occasions the president of the Music Supervisors' National Conference, W. Otto Miessner, argued that music would be far more beneficial than "useless" subjects such as algebra and geometry: "Your High School girls--what will be of most use to ninety percent of them ten years from now--a knowledge of algebra and geometry or the ability to play the piano or violin or to sing agreeably?"[27] In a later elaboration on the theme, Miessner described how music would benefit girls in their life-long careers as wives and mothers:

> How long must our girls break their heads over Algebra, Geometry, Latin, and other subjects that prove useless to most of them, that they loathe and despise forever after? Will higher mathematics make these girls better companions for their husbands, better mothers for their children? Why don't we give them more Music, Literature, Dramatics, or Art--more training in activities that they can use through their whole lives?[28]

Miessner's comments are strikingly similar to those made nearly one hundred years earlier in essays

on the value of music in education that prepared women for domesticity.[29]

Careers in Music For Males

In addition to attending to the role of music in the education of boys, the journal also mentioned the closely related topic of career opportunities for males in music. For example, Caroline V. Smith of Winona, Minnesota, contributed her thoughts on the merits of vocational training in music, and she defined vocational training as "a course which will enable a boy to earn a living some day."[30] Smith argued that boys stood a good chance of earning a living in music, and she enumerated the musical vocations open to them:

> A boy may become the conductor of an orchestra, band, or chorus. He may also make a reputation for himself as a performer in these organizations. He may gain a wide influence as a teacher upon his chosen instrument, whether it be violin, piano, or pipe organ. In the capacity of church organist he may be ranked among the leaders in the world of music. As a singer upon the concert stage and in grand opera there are also possibilities. The position as music supervisor is growing more and more important. A boy may have a future as a composer, and so deserve honorable mention in doing his share of the world's work.[31]

Hollis Dann, the state director of music in Pennsylvania and an advocate of instrumental music in the schools, linked American music education to future career opportunities in music for boys. Dann promised that someday, seats in the greatest orchestras would be filled by boys educated in American public school instrumental programs.[32]

Music and the Nature and Character Development of Boys

The nature of the boy was another single-sex topic addressed in the Journal. William M. Tomlins claimed a boy's nature could be represented by drawing three concentric circles, the outer circle representing what a boy does, the middle representing what he knows, and the inner symbolizing his very being--who he is. Tomlins argued that music reached to the very core of a boy in ways that other school subjects could not.[33]

Information about the nature of adolescent boys was provided by T. P. Giddings, head of the music department in Minneapolis, Minnesota, who remarked that adolescent boys wanted to show off to girls and wished to be free of women. He advised music educators to be aware that boys desired to succeed without help from females. Giddings spoke of boys' need to be given "a chance to show they are men and can do things in music uncontaminated [my emphasis] by female help. They love to sing. They like it better than girls do, but they are fussy about what they sing and how it sounds."[34]

The character development of boys, specifically the relationship between music and moral or spiritual development, was of special concern. For example, Louise Hannan, a music supervisor at a Chicago high school for boys, gave a lecture at the organization's national meeting, the subject of her presentation being the "influence of music on the lives and characters of adolescent boys."[35] In the estimation of some contributors, boys were peculiarly subject to temptation. Tomlins, in his discussion of the nature of the boy, warned that along with flower-germs, weed-germs lurked at a boy's very core: "[There are weed-germs] that are yet latent, of which you, his teacher, and you, his parent, know nothing . . . and of which the boy himself knows nothing; weed-germs which await the stimulating influence of some temptation, tomorrow, or next year, or five years from today, to spring up and challenge for control of the boy."[36] According to Tomlins, music lit a spiritual flame that could not be extinguished and that would ennoble the boy forever.[37]

Like Professor Harold Hill of "The Music Man" fame, contributing supervisors promised that music would keep children, specifically boys, out of trouble: "Neighborhood orchestras help to keep children off the streets. High school bands keep the boys interested in wholesome recreation."[38] Moral vulnerability of girls was mentioned out only once; an article designed to be reprinted in local newspapers and brimming with praise for music claimed, "'Girls who are at home with their music and boys who sing in the parish choir don't land in the hands of the police.'"[39] Significantly, the

reference specified that girls who stayed out of trouble, stayed at home with their music.

The emotional development of males was of particular concern to contributors. Sometimes called "refining of the emotions," this project was believed to be neglected more often in the education of boys than of girls. Essayist Leroy Campbell attributed violent acts to a failure to refine the perpetrator's emotions: "Most men and some women pay very little attention to the refining of the emotions; they pay much attention to the intellect but neglect the proper balancing of the two factors, hence one finds the jails and prisons full of such persons whose unrefined feelings and emotions have led them into various deeds of violence."[40]

Contributors, Campbell among them, believed music was instrumental in cultivating the emotions. In one instance, a specific type of musical organization was professed to have uncommon ability to transform boys; a teacher mentioned the capacity of orchestras to give "'pupils--especially the boys--the right kind of emotional reaction at the right age.'"[41]

Boys' Likes and Dislikes

Contributors also discussed boys' likes and dislikes, which were sometimes linked to boys' "nature." T. P. Giddings' assertion that boys loved to sing was not typical; usually contributors expressed concern over boys' dislike of music and agonized about how to change boys' minds. Older boys, in particular, were characterized as not liking music. A series of surveys taken at the turn of the century indicated music was not usually a favorite class among either boys or girls; however, among boys, music was more likely to be their least enjoyed course and less likely to be their favorite class in school.[42]

The dislike of music among boys was of sufficient concern to be addressed in one of five questions posed in a published mock job interview for a teaching position. The school superintendent asked the candidate to discuss "'what could be done to improve music in our upper grades. The boys

don't seem to like music and our former teacher couldn't get anything out of them. She also had a good deal of trouble with discipline. What would you do about this in case you receive the position?'"[43] Significantly, in this description of a hypothetical situation, the pronoun "she" was used in reference to a fictitious previous teacher who had failed to motivate boys and had experienced disciplinary problems.

The musical activity most often mentioned in discussions of boys' dislikes was singing. One music supervisor, Julia E. Clifford of Franklin, New Hampshire, wondered whether she was at fault for her boys' aversion to song:

> And another thing which has interested and puzzled me is this. Why is it that boys don't like singing as well as girls? Boys come to me and say, they hate singing. When they get into a big chorus, they just don't sing much, if any. The time is so short and the time is for chorus work not individual work that the question comes up to me, what can one do? The discipline of my chorus is very good and attention is good,--Is this the fault of the supervisor in having failed to arouse them or just lack of musical appreciation?[44]

The Missing Males Problem

Dislike of music apparently translated into a scarcity of boys. The Journal indicated that, in general, fewer boys participated in music than girls--at least in the area of vocal music. Convincing boys to participate appears to have been a problem.

References to a dearth of males were particularly numerous in discussions of new programs and of programs described as weak. Nevertheless, larger proportions of girls were evident even in such highly esteemed groups as the St. Olaf College Choir.[45] Music supervisor T. P. Giddings discussed a choir of high school seniors he had observed, and his description left no doubt but that he found the group unsatisfactory. He cited statistics indicating sectional imbalance, the numbers suggesting an abundance of females: 60 sopranos, 10 altos, 2 basses, and no tenors.[46] A music supervisor establishing a choral program in Montana also alluded to a shortage of males, reporting that "at the present the attendance is, for the most part, girls, but a splendid lot of them."[47] William

B. Kinnear, a teacher from Larned, Kansas, in a description of his young but expanding music program, implied that his high school choral program consisted of a girls' chorus.[48]

Teachers developing new sites for music contests were advised to be mindful that girls' ensembles probably would predominate. Heading the list of suggested performance group categories was the girls' glee club, the author noting, "This is the [group] most easily obtained and thus permits the entrance of a large number of high schools. The boys' glee club is probably best omitted the first year."[49] The second contest category was the mixed chorus, which according to the author would "introduce the boys into the singing contest" while also using many of the girls from the glee.[50]

Avoiding music courses apparently was a practice not limited to males of high school age. For example, an article advocating the introduction of a special music methods course for future school superintendents noted that female future superintendents were more likely to take already-existing music appreciation courses than males: "Courses are offered in colleges for teachers in 'Appreciation of Music,' in which courses are found a few superintendents, generally women, and a lot of students hunting for a 'snap' course."[51]

Music and manliness

The shortage of males was perceived to be a problem. Contributors offered explanations for the existence of this problem and solutions as well. Boys' apparent dislike of music and their absence from music programs were sometimes explained by pointing to the belief that music is unmanly, i.e., not an appropriate interest for males. This belief was loudly denounced by contributors, but the presence of denunciations also tacitly acknowledged the existence of the perception. As mentioned earlier, the music and manliness gender issue was not new to the twentieth century. However, this analysis indicates that a question on the minds of the general public during the middle of the nineteenth century continued to be of concern to music teachers in the first quarter of the twentieth

century.

For example, in a discussion of the musical ability of a young man who was the subject of psychologist Carl Seashore's research, Seashore intimated that some parents considered music an inappropriate activity for males. He discussed a young man whom he had identified as musically talented, noting that the capable young man "has always wanted to study music but has been discouraged by his father, while his two sisters do not care for music, or achieve any marked success, have always been encouraged by the father."[52] I departed here from my plan to ignore remarks concerning specific individuals because this is a classic example of a decision influenced by the perception that music is unmanly. The father's actions defy explanation unless, of course, gender is factored into the equation.

The word "effeminate" was sometimes used in discussions of music and manliness; according to a 1911 dictionary, the term meant "Having the qualities of the female sex; soft or delicate to an unmanly degree; womanish: applied to men."[53] ~~Synonyms included "womanish" and~~ One synonym was "weak."[54] Another dictionary added "enervated; self-indulgent; [and] delicate or over-refined" to the definition.[55] Thus, the term presumed separate and stereotypical sets of qualities for males and females, and these qualities were considered detrimental aberrations if they appeared in persons of the sex to which they were not generally ascribed. In the Journal, challenges to conventional thinking did not come in the form of questions about traditional definitions of masculinity and femininity, or in revaluations of characteristics traditionally considered feminine, but rather, they were limited to contestations of the assumption that music was feminine.

Effeminacy was pictured as undesirable; it was often mentioned along with characteristics such as weakness and softness, which traditionally were associated with females, and also were considered undesirable. Several examples illustrate the negative associations attached to the term "effeminate," and they underscore contributors' attempts to uncouple music from the feminine. In a

discussion of music's purported ability to improve concentration, sharpen perception, and develop emotions, one contributor warned hard-nosed businessmen that their opposition to their sons' participation in music, based on the faulty perception that music was unmanly, would produce serious deficiencies in the child; the contributor added, "Think this over Mr. Business Man . . . when refusing the son lessons in music or art under the misguided idea that music or art is effeminate and weak."[56]

To call a musical activity or genre effeminate was insulting. For example, T. Carl Whitmer, professor at the Pennsylvania College for Women, studied glee clubs by surveying music departments throughout the United States, and he published a summary of his findings. In his survey results, Whitmer denounced mandolin clubs, calling them effeminate; he argued that such organizations "are on a lower plane than the glee clubs and their programs a disgrace to college endeavor."[57] No reason other than effeminacy was given for the scorn heaped on mandolin clubs, but biases concerning social class and ethnicity may also have played a role in shaping Whitmer's opinion.

In one instance, growth of the belief that music is feminine was blamed on incompetent teachers who were accused of employing inadequate pedagogical methods. Charles Farnsworth, professor at Teacher's College, Columbia University, argued that insufficient time devoted to systematic note reading drill in early childhood would lead to the misconception in adolescence that music is effeminate:

> [J]ust when the adolescent child commences to anticipate the maturer outlook on life and human accomplishment, and has awakened in him an interest in the masterpieces of art, he finds himself unable to satisfy his desire because of the lack of technical training. He is not far enough removed from childhood to still enjoy those simple melodic expressions of the race, which so captivate those who have a mature musical taste, hence, he feels a growing distaste with music, as something for which he is not fitted or which is childish and effeminate.[58]

The masculine pronouns in this excerpt presumably applied to both boys and girls because Farnsworth spoke about the adolescent child, not boy; however, the excerpt raises interesting questions if the

child is assumed to be a girl. Would adolescent girls develop a distaste for things perceived to be effeminate? Would they learn to hate the very things that were believed to characterize them, or was the generic child in this instance simply assumed to have been male? Whatever the case, Farnsworth's conclusion is significant: children (probably boys) eschewed music because it was perceived to be "womanish."

A few contributors offered suggestions for putting the effeminacy-of-music myth to rest. In an article entitled "Music and Manliness," a well-meaning teacher detailed a recruitment program designed to solve the missing males problem and to point out fallacies in the music and manliness myth. The teacher, Fred G. Smith of Fort Smith, Arkansas, set out to change boys' "contemptuous" attitude toward music by posting pictures of male musicians along the halls of the school and by distributing flyers that began with the question, "Are you one of those people who consider Music effeminate?"[59] Among the points made in the flyer were the following:

> 1. All the great composers were men.
>
> 2. The great Symphony Orchestras of the world are composed of men players and are conducted by men. The personnel of a modern Symphony Orchestra consists of 80 or 90 men.
>
> 3. Many churches in the larger cities have their music supplied by choirs of men and boys under a male organist and director.
>
> 4. The men who are playing and singing on the Concert stage and in Grand Opera have to be and are men of splendid physique and considerable intellectual attainment. They are the physical equals of the best football and baseball players.[60]

Apparently, football and baseball players were deemed paragons of physical masculinity, and to be compared favorably to them was considered high praise.

Some of the information in Smith's flyer probably was accurate; this was 1918, and women were not heavily represented in many music professions. However, this zealous and perhaps desperate campaign to attract boys was based on a narrow, traditional definition of greatness. The flyer hammered home the exclusionary message that even though males perhaps were not as numerous

as females in music, the best musicians always were male. Implicit in Smith's assertions was the assumption that "Music for every child, every child for music" would nonetheless lead girls down a different career path than boys. The impact of this message on girls' perceptions of their future prospects as composers, conductors, and instrumentalists can only be imagined.

Some contributors believed boy musicians would overcome their music and manliness fears if they were introduced to appropriately masculine role models. For example, T. P. Giddings and Earl L. Baker, a Minneapolis music supervisor, enumerated the merits of hiring male high school teachers. Giddings and Baker discussed their beliefs in a description of the qualities needed in a high school choir director:

> The teacher must be a disciplinarian, one who is able to rule tactfully without too much show of driving. He must be a teacher of the most ingenious variety and also have great force and endurance, both mental and physical. He must have perfect self-control, for nowhere is it needed so much as in the high school chorus class. He must have the right attitude toward his subject and see it from the big human educational side, as well as from the musical side. He must have infinite patience, firmness, and an immense love for young people.
>
> It is no easy work to be a successful chorus leader. It is a man's job, though many women are doing it splendidly. When I say it is a man's job, I mean that boys are more likely to sing if there is a man at the helm. Then again in the large high schools, where there are many classes daily, the mere physical strain of several chorus classes in succession is too much for the average woman not possessed of great physical as well as mental endurance.[61]

In addition to alluding to the missing males problem, Giddings' remarks portrayed the vast majority of female high school teachers as second-best choices, not only because they allegedly were incapable of solving the missing males problem by serving as role models, but also because they were pronounced the weaker sex, both physically and mentally. The masculine pronouns used to discuss high school teachers were intended to refer mostly to males. In an indirect manner, however Giddings' remarks provided evidence of the existence of highly successful female high school music teachers who defied traditional stereotypes.

Other explanations of the missing males problem

Some explanations of the problem of missing or unenthusiastic males implied the fault lay with teachers. The presence of a lecture entitled "Keeping the Adolescent Boy Interested in Music," given at a national convention in 1923 indicates not only that teachers were concerned about a loss of older boys from programs and eager to stop the exodus, but also that music educators believed it was within their power to solve the problem.[62] Some articles blamed bad pedagogy, others cited poor choice of repertoire. For example, Mrs. Ann Dixon, a new music supervisor in Duluth, Minnesota, described some of the difficulties she faced upon assuming her post, one of them being a dearth of boys in the high school program. Dixon claimed that overworked elementary teachers who had neglected part singing and had not encouraged boys' voices were at fault.[63] T. P. Giddings claimed he had never experienced difficulty recruiting for his boys' glee because he had taught the boys to read music at an early age; Giddings also admitted, however, that boys' musical achievement tended to lag behind girls', a problem he believed boys' glee clubs would solve.[64] When Florence E. Allen's classes were visited by those attending the 1917 National Convention in Grand Rapids, Michigan, one supervisor asked Allen how the "boys were'made' to sing"; Allen indicated that because the boys were encouraged to use proper vocal technique early on, they "like to sing and they do."[65] Clearly, teachers wanted to learn pedagogical methods that would engage boys; the inclusion of a national conference lecture on the "phases of music work" that have proven most successful with boys is further evidence of this interest.[66]

In addition to pedagogy, repertoire was sometimes faulted for producing an aversion to music in boys, and a few contributors listed unsuitable styles. Farnsworth, quoted earlier on the need to incorporate systematic note reading drill so that music would not be viewed as effeminate, also complained about teachers engendering "superficial and flabby emotional interest in sentimental songs" rather than teaching the "finest in song literature"; he believed that the "maturing child,

especially if he is a boy, [italics mine] turns from music with little conception of it as an art, and no respect for it as an achievement," when the sentimental repertoire supplants systematic drill.[67] His attack on sentimental music and the distinction he drew between it and masterpieces of art have gendered overtones because the derogatory designation of "sentimental" often was applied to music ~~often~~ written for (and sometimes by) women. In other words, "sentimental" suggested women's music.

Because it was believed that boys could be won over through careful choice of repertoire, there was considerable interest in ascertaining which kinds of music appealed to boys and men. For example, a study of musical preferences and responses to music was conducted on college males.[68] Not surprisingly, given contributors' hostility toward popular music, jazz in particular, the study concluded that classical music elicited responses of interest, but jazz only produced boredom.[69]

It appears to have been assumed that boys were interested in different kinds of music than girls, an assumption substantiated by a survey undertaken prior to the turn of the century and discussed by educational psychologist Earl Barnes in 1915. According to the survey, for example, larger percentages of boys liked patriotic songs, while more girls chose "home songs," (e.g., lullabies and baby songs).[70] The question of why the sexes would prefer different kinds of music was not explored. Another indication of the types of music boys were said to enjoy was found in a review of The Laurel Glee, a songbook for male voices. The collection met with a reviewer's approval because the "character of both words and music will appeal to boys in high school and college."[71] The contents reportedly included "folk songs, spirituals, old American Songs, sailors' chanteys and college songs, with a fair amount of more serious music."[72] This review was one of several articles indicating there was a repertoire typically sung by male groups--college glees, in particular--that did not always meet with contributors' approval, often because the selections were considered coarse or vulgar.[73]

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Lists of favorite pieces, submitted by teachers, indicated that the music selected for all male-groups probably was different, both in style and in textual content, from the choices made for girls; however, this conclusion was reached by reading song titles, which may not always have portrayed content accurately. My unscientific count revealed that girls' repertoire usually included songs about nature, as well as lullabies and songs of love. A wider range of topics and styles was seen in the repertoire for boys. The most popular textual theme was adventure; spirituals or "plantation songs" were numerous.[74]

Introducing activities and organizations that were believed to appeal to boys was another suggested solution to the missing males problem, and typically instrumental groups--wind bands and orchestras--were identified as the appealing organizations. For example, an article advocating the introduction of wind bands described their merits:

> A kid prefers a band to any other form of musical entertainment. How often have you and I, as boys jumped in the lead of a stick-twirling drum major, leading a band proudly up the street. We marched along with him, hoping to be mistaken for the band-leader himself. There is something curious in the psychology of a boy when it comes to his love for music. Did you ever in your life know of one willing to learn to play the piano if he could swap it for a trombone? His musical enthusiasm at this time generally runs to Jazz so that if it had no other mission than to refine this vulgarism out of him and to implant in its place a love for the better sort of music, the existence of the School Band would be amply justified. It can do it. Jazz music is by general consent largely responsible for our present-day jazz ideas and morals. It is a disease that will have to be rooted out of the young folks if we are to return to the safety and sanity of pre-war years. And the School Band can be largely helpful in this."[75]

In this excerpt, the gender-neutral "kid" quickly becomes a boy who, according to the contributor, Frederick Neil Innes, has an essential psychological nature apparently shared by all other boys. Clearly, the wind band was believed to appeal to this nature, even though neither nature nor appeal was explained. A boy's partiality for a trombone was also left unexplained, although if traditional definitions of what constituted a masculine musical instrument are taken into consideration, the preference makes more sense. Historically, trombones were considered masculine. Pianos, by contrast, were one of a very few instruments deemed suitable for both sexes to play, and the "piano

girl" rage of the nineteenth-century may have fostered a belief that the instrument was far more feminine than a trombone. Finally, the conviction that jazz undermines boys' morals but a band upholds them reflects not only a concern for the presumably fragile moral make up of boys but also a strong anti-jazz sentiment, prevalent throughout the journal. Through these remarks, Innes revealed his own definition of legitimate knowledge, a definition probably shaped by elitist and racist biases.

Orchestras, in addition to bands, were regarded as drawing cards. For example, Bessie M. Whiteley conducted a survey of orchestra programs in large-city elementary schools and her report sang the praises of these programs; one respondent noted that orchestras stimulated interest in music, "especially among the larger boys."[76]

Apparently instrumental organizations also appealed to overwrought parents desperately seeking ways to get boys involved in music. One music supervisor advised his colleagues, "Parents are willing to sacrifice if their boy will only become interested in an instrument. The band certainly appeals to the boy."[77]

Finally, one teacher hoped new equipment would help generate interest in music among boys. The aforementioned Ann Dixon hoped her beleaguered program in Duluth, Minnesota, would begin to attract boys once new equipment had been purchased. Dixon mentioned orchestra instruments, a victrola, textbooks, and "supplementary material for chorus and orchestra."[78]

The Male Singing Voice

The boy's voice, specifically, the male changing voice, was another all-male topic discussed in the Journal. This subject was the theme of a book appearing on a list of indispensable reading for music educators, and it was the topic of a lecture given at the National Convention held in Grand Rapids in 1917.[79] Teachers were reminded of the importance of not embarrassing or humiliating boys at a delicate time in their lives by requiring them to sing solos when their voices were changing:

"But is it [solo singing] worth all it costs if the adolescent boy in his humiliation at being compelled to exhibit his vocal frailties in public, vows that when he goes to high school where music is elective, he will have none of it, and that when he once gets through school he will indulge in no more of this nonsense?"[80] Interestingly, one teacher permitted younger boys with changing voices to sing in choirs from the upper grades rather than with their own classes.[81] Although the teacher's intention probably was to achieve balanced voicing in the ensembles, the end effect may have been to portray the voice change as a badge of status that gave some boys privileges not extended to girls or to boys whose voices had not yet changed.

Discerning whether a mention of "the changing voice" referred to both sexes or to boys alone was sometimes difficult, especially in the case of references to book or lecture titles. Consulting the sources themselves revealed that educators of the day sometimes did acknowledge a voice change in girls, but in the case of at least one book, most of the attention was paid to boys.[82] The inclusion of a girls' glee club as the demonstration group at a national convention lecture on the adolescent voice served as further evidence that teachers were aware of a voice change in girls.[83] Awareness did not translate into extensive coverage, however.

Music and the Fighting Man

Yet another male-related theme was music for World War I fighting men. The language of the journal articles rendered women's contributions to the war effort invisible. Those in service to their country were referred to as men or boys.

Some articles described musical activities in camps both in the United States and abroad, including appearances by touring entertainment companies, visits from military bands, impromptu performances by soldiers in the field, and sing alongs conducted by song leaders who traveled from regiment to regiment[84] Other articles spelled out war-related interests ranging from writing

compositions that would be appreciated by the boys to locating instruments for boys, the wounded in particular.[85] Contributors praised music for improving the morale of the fighting men; military bands were credited with helping win the war.[86]

Special attention was paid to discerning the musical preferences of men at war,[87] as well as to articulating which styles of music were considered appropriate for performance in the camps. [88] A paper read at the music section of the Wisconsin Teachers' Association contended that the men preferred "good music" over other styles, quickly tiring of the latter; it argued that bands playing "good music" were given more respect than the others: "The jazz band commanded no respect while the concert band always secured a very definite respect for its members."[89] Not all contributors agreed that performing popular music at the front was inadvisable, however. Another song leader, writing from France, indicated the war had produced in him a much more favorable attitude toward popular music, primarily because he saw how deeply the men appreciated it.[90]

Issues Pertaining to Females

Women's Responsibilities

The Journal said little about girls or women, even though girls may have been more numerous in music programs than boys. No music-related problems involving females as a group were identified. Occasional references to females did appear; however, they were different in nature and tenor from those mentioning males. Instead of focusing on girls and on pedagogical issues pertaining to girls, the remarks often expounded on responsibilities of adult women in their roles as wives and mothers. For example, mothers were advised to serve as advocates for their children by demanding public school music education for them.[91] They were also reminded of their need to provide children with music instruction at home, one article championing the formation of mother's clubs

where women would learn music literature to teach to their children.[92]

Mothers were portrayed as guardians of their children's morals, a role "good" music was believed to facilitate. In an article entitled "A Message to You, Mother Music Lover" Helen Ware reminded mothers of the "refining" influence music has on children; in a quotation from composer Clara Schumann, Ware underscored music's moral value: "'First and last, the mission of music is to aid us to create in the home a pure and ennobling atmosphere.'"[93]

A mother's sensibilities were the testing ground for the moral purity of music. Music was acceptable if it was suitable for a mother to hear. For example, in a reprint of an article from The London Herald, an unnamed contributor called for songs "fit for a man to enjoy, and fit for his own mother to hear"; the reference intimated that not all music sung by men met the two criteria.[94]

In an article hinting at the widespread popularity of jazz, mothers were warned of the threats to morality posed by the genre:

> "There's a somethin' about saxaphones and trap drummin' that lures us on t' recklessness and license. . . . We dance with people we never heard of before an' we lounge about like a sorceress on th' Nile. Jazz records are in ever' home. Th' modern parlor smells like a star's dressing room--cigarette smoke, cosmetics, dandelion wine an' steam heat--a combination of fumes unknown in private life before the introduction o' jazz. Once we stop jazz, much o' th' demoralization now so common 'll die out. Let our mothers resolve t' slow down an' set an example for ther growin' daughters--oversee their dressin' an' warn them against th' pitfalls o' jazz music [italics mine]. The' first impulse when a jazz orchestry begins t' mumble an' squeak an' rattle is t' kick up, or hug some one, or shimmy, or git fresh. What else is there t' do t' such music? Nobuddy ever sat still an' listened t' a jazz orchestry."[95]

In this passage, mothers again were cast in the role of moral guardians; significantly, it was the purity of daughters that mothers were advised to protect. In two respects the example typifies the Journal's descriptions of the dangers of jazz--first, in the nature of the accusations it made about jazz, and, second, in the author's reliance on racist and elitist assumptions.

Not only were women reminded of their responsibilities as mothers, they also were informed of the duties of a good wife. An anecdote, appearing in an article entitled "When Her Husband Comes Home From Work" and reportedly derived from the book A Thousand Ways to Please Her

Husband, spelled out one music-related role accepted by an understanding wife whose home life was "nearest to the ideal."[96] In an excerpt reminiscent of prescriptive literature written for women during the mid-nineteenth century, this wife attributed her domestic bliss to a piano. She had developed the ability to listen to the music her husband played on the instrument when he arrived home from work and could guess his mood from the music he chose. In this passage, domestic tranquility resulted not only from piano ownership, but also from a wife and husband playing sex-stereotyped roles. The husband took an active part--he expressed himself--while his wife assumed a more passive role; she listened, understood, and adjusted her behavior to suit his mood. Her responsibility was to appreciate him:

> He puts into his playing his moods, his thoughts, his state of mind,--in short, himself. And she, understanding the power of expression that lies in music knows without his saying a word what his feelings are, and governs her actions accordingly. . . . The result is self-expression on the part of one individual with a depth and intimacy he could never express, and appreciation of that self-expression on the part of the woman through a knowledge of what the touch on the keys mean.[97]

The passage described a one-way street of communication, a husband who was unable to express his emotions in words, and a wife who was expected to translate his musical messages, presumably without expressing her own thoughts and feelings.

Women's Contributions

Discussions of women's responsibilities comprised a major portion of the Journal's comments about females as a group. However, there were three types of passing references that suggested, if one read between the lines, that females played a vital role in the musical past and made major contributions. The first type of reference, already discussed, was the mentioning of all-female performance organizations. Coupled with comments indicating females were in the majority in many music programs, these references indicated female students were in abundance. The second category of references consisted of descriptions of the contributions women made to musical life, contributions

by members of women's clubs in particular, and it is to these references that my attention will now turn.

The Journal indicated that women's club members devoted themselves tirelessly to a variety of musical projects and causes; some of these projects directly benefitted public school music education. For example, the clubs promoted the inclusion of music in the public school curriculum, and contributors from throughout the nation praised the work of the women's clubs in helping bring music into the schools, particularly into rural schools.[98] Women's clubs reportedly championed the granting of course credit for private music lessons.[99] They sponsored composition contests designed to generate music for women's ensembles and awarded prizes to women composers[100] They supported community concerts for children and they sponsored song fests.[101] Music history and appreciation were taught at club lectures.[102] The value of the clubs to music education can be inferred by noting that these organizations and their contributions were the topic of a lecture given in 1920 at the national meeting of the music supervisors.[103]

It may be conjectured that the considerable attention given to the clubs may have had less to do with actual contributions than with overlapping membership of prominent members of the National Conference. However, if such vested interests existed, they were never clearly articulated in the Journal, and the impression given to the uninitiated reader was that women's clubs played a major role in promoting music during the ten years studied.

Apparently, other women, in addition to those belonging to women's clubs, were unseen heroines who did the thankless organizational legwork necessary to make musical events successful. For example, the "ladies" of Cleveland provided two hundred automobiles to transport music supervisors attending the 1923 national convention.[104]

Finally, although references to individual men and women technically were excluded from the study, I could not help but notice that many women's names appeared on membership and

contribution lists. Women apparently wrote some of the curricular materials advertised in the journal and they penned articles the Journal published. Thus, even though the Journal was not talking about women, women were present and were valuable contributors in the musical past, nonetheless.

Conclusions and Discussion

One goal of this study was to determine whether discussions of missing males surfaced in an early twentieth-century music education journal; clearly, they did. Furthermore, like their predecessors in the nineteenth century, proponents of music in the early twentieth century were called upon to defend music as an appropriately masculine pursuit. Significantly, the missing males problem was sometimes blamed on teachers, or if teachers were not blamed, they were assumed to be capable of remedying the situation. As recent historical research confirms, however, missing males was a long-standing and more intractable problem than the Journal led readers to believe.

Deep-seated beliefs regarding masculinity and femininity were at least in part responsible for the missing males problem; thus, to place either blame or responsibility on teachers was unrealistic and perhaps unfair. Bearing the burden for changing boys' minds may have been especially difficult for female teachers, who had been told by Giddings and Baker that they generally were second-rate high school teachers simply because they could not serve as role models for their male students.

If the absence of boys was, indeed, the result of bad teaching, as some contributors suggested, then why did girls flock to the very same programs? Why would girls tolerate poor teaching if boys would not? Educators of the day probably would have countered that boys by "nature" were unlike girls, and therefore, boys responded to a different array of teaching practices. However, even if this assertion were true, why should practices that attracted boys serve as the standard of good teaching?

Why was an absence of males in school music education programs considered a problem in

need of a solution? From an egalitarian perspective, an absence of males indicated that music educators had not reached the goal embodied in the slogan "Music for every child, every child for music." According to this line of thinking, boys were the "lost coins" for whom music educators sought diligently. However, when the larger picture is considered, boys were not the only lost coins. For example, the absence of women among the ranks of professional musicians, and the obstacles faced by women composers, performers, and conductors apparently did not prompt equal concern among music educators.

A second possible explanation of contributors' concern appears on the surface simply to be pragmatic: an absence of males limited the repertoire of singing groups. However, a vast repertoire of treble vocal music existed that could not be performed by mixed ensembles; an absence of males is a problem only if mixed ensemble music is considered the most legitimate. Furthermore, this explanation is based on the assumption that the missing males problem was limited to vocal music programs, which probably was not the case.

A third possible explanation of the contributors' concern is that the presence of males tends to legitimize a discipline. Thus, contributors may have desired to place music within the curricular mainstream and lift it out of its marginal existence in school programs by demonstrating that music was not just for (insignificant) girls. Public school music education was a discipline desperately seeking legitimacy in the early part of the twentieth century, and the presence of males may have been viewed as a lifeline.

A second goal of this study was to identify and discuss additional gender-related issues mentioned in the Journal. Although other topics attracted the most attention, when the spotlight did turn to gender, a preoccupation with males and male problems was evident. The problems, interests, and concerns of males apparently were considered, to borrow a term from Apple, the most "legitimate" gender issues. This preoccupation was inconsistent with the organization's stated goals,

which relied on discourses of equality and inclusivity. On the surface, contributors appeared to have been dedicated to music for all children. However, careful examination of the journal revealed that beneath a veneer of rhetoric suggesting the egalitarian goals of universal opportunity and access to excellence, lay beliefs, values, and practices that fostered inequities.

Gender was not the only criterion for exclusion, however. Although not the foci of my study, race and social class also clearly figured into the picture. For example, I could not help but notice that the children pictured in the Journal's advertising were white; and, as noted earlier, denunciations of ragtime, jazz, and other popular music probably were based, at least in part, on racist and elitist beliefs. As outmoded (and perhaps as quaint) as contributors' distaste for ragtime or jazz may seem to modern readers, this distaste is a telling commentary on whose knowledge was considered legitimate. The contents of this journal suggests that music education has a long history of adopting inclusive rhetoric while simultaneously giving the lion's share of attention to select groups.

Not only were males as a group discussed more often than females, but, in addition, the nature of the reporting was different. For example, references to males addressed a wider variety of topics and often discussed them in greater depth. References to females usually consisted of a few words. This inclination to place males and male knowledge at the front and center doubtless was one means by which the unequal power relations of the dominant culture were reinforced and reproduced. These texts exemplify how schooling can accomplish the reproduction of dominant discourses, not only through the selective tradition, but also through the manner in which gender is constructed.

The centering of male knowledge left little room for discussions of the interests and problems of girls or women. The absence of discussion of females not only rendered them invisible but also may have led readers to conclude that females did not have music-related gender problems. If the dominant culture was accustomed to the centering of male knowledge, the silences regarding girls or women may have been deemed "normal" or may have gone unnoticed. Contributors appeared

oblivious to the female multitude already enrolled in music programs. Apparently the slogan "Music for every child, every child for music" did not mean music education with the same goals and purposes for girls as for boys. Although not openly discussed, a belief in essential or "natural" differences between boys' and girls' interests, problems, and aspirations may have strongly influenced many Journal contributors. The failure to mention girls in discussions of careers in music may have stemmed from a "commonsense"--yet stereotyped--construction of gender. This failure is ironic in light of the reality that many of the music supervisors themselves were female.

Not only did the journal overlook girls and women, but it also launched both subtle and overt attacks on things perceived to be feminine. To be feminine was to be weak, inadequate, or substandard. Attacks were most obvious in discussions of music and manliness. Rather than attempting to draw males into music programs by questioning traditional definitions of what constituted masculinity and femininity, contributors zealously attempted to prove that music was not feminine. As a result, efforts to solve one gender-related problem may have spawned others.

For boys and girls alike, the masculine served as the measure of excellence. Even Frances E. Clark, one of the founders of the Music Supervisors' National Conference and a proponent of "emancipated self-reliant womanhood," used masculinity as the standard. In a nationalistic call for a new style of American music, Clark indicated the new compositions should be "stately but strong, virile [italics mine], fresh, and pulsing with emotion."[105] For girls who had been told they should be "feminine," using virility as a standard of excellence may have meant accepting a measure of self hatred. The very characteristics ascribed to females were found wanting; virile was good, feminine was not. Well-intended practices, such as the poster-and-bulletin campaign designed to recruit males, simultaneously hammered home the exclusionary message that the best always have been male.

A recent review of literature, published by the Wellesley Center for Research on Women, concluded that girls continue to be shortchanged in schooling today.[106] However, the Wellesley

study probably said little about sexism in music education because there is little research to review. Furthermore, very little research in music education, historical or otherwise, has incorporated a feminist perspective. The absence of feminist research is a telling commentary on which issues have or have not been of concern to the profession. This study has attempted to add alternative voices and new questions to the music education research agenda.

Historical research can serve as an invitation to reflect on current practices and on the discourses that inform those practices. Is current practice consistent with music education's avowed goals, which remain inclusive and egalitarian? In a world in which the majority is neither white nor male, discourses of equality, inclusivity, and justice that apply only to white males are neither inclusive nor just. Who is or is not participating in current music programs, and why or why not? Whose knowledge, interests, and problems are considered worthy of attention and concern; whose problems are addressed in the corpus of legitimate expert knowledge? Do males and male problems continue to receive the lion's share of attention? Do current practices designed to solve the missing males problem work against girls or reinforce traditional sex stereotypes? In short, does an exclusionary legacy continue to make its presence felt in music education? As an entre to further discussion of whether perspectives on gender in music education are much different today than they were seventy years ago when the Music Supervisors' Journal first was published, I close with a final question: What has changed?

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1. For discussions of nineteenth-century beliefs, see Judith Tick, American Women Composers Before 1870 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1983), especially 13-31 and 217-233; also, Julia Eklund Koza "Music and the Feminine Sphere: Images of Women as Musicians in Godey's Lady's Book, 1830-1877," The Musical Quarterly 75, no. 2 (Summer 1991): 104-108; and

Julia Eklund Koza "Music Instruction in the Nineteenth Century: Views from Godey's Lady's Book, 1830-77," Journal of Research in Music Education 38, no. 4 (Winter 1990): 248-249.

2. Alison M. Jaggar, Feminist Politics and Human Nature (Towata, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1983), 127.

3. Ibid.

4. Michael W. Apple, Ideology and Curriculum (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979): 6.

5. See Apple, 82-104 for a discussion of ways that schools can challenge hegemony.

6. Apple, 6.

7. Apple, 7.

8. Apple, 16.

9. Ann De Vaney, "Reading Educational Computer Programs," in Social Issues in Computer Education, ed. R. Muffoletto and N. Knupfer (Ablex, forthcoming); Wolfgang Iser, The Act of Reading (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); and Stanley Fish, Is There A Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University press, 1980).

10. De Vaney.

11. De Vaney.

12. Chris Weedon, Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 86.

13. From the first ten volumes, 101 articles were located that contained gender-related references.

14. Notebook II Ver. 2.3 (Pro/Tem Software, 1987).

15. Excluding these references created problems, however, the thorniest of which was trying to discern how words such as "man," "men," "he," or "him," were to be understood in specific situations. In some essays, contributors shifted between meanings and created considerable ambiguity in the process. Contributors generally used masculine pronouns to refer to a generic person, but on occasion, they switched to the feminine. This shift was commonly made when mentioning the generic elementary classroom teacher and sometimes when alluding to the music supervisor. See, for example, "A Plea from the Treasurer," MSJ 8, no. 2 (December 1921): 4; Hannah M. Cundiff, "Efficiency

in Public School Music Teaching," MSJ 9, no. 3 (February 1923): 43; S. A. Courtis, "The Nature and Function of Educational Measurements," MSJ 9, no. 4 (March 1923): 44; W. Otto Miessner, "Music for Every Child," MSJ 10, no. 5 (May 1924): 57. In one case, for example, the average citizen who hated music was referred to as "he" while the elementary teacher who was exhorted to change the citizen's mind was assumed to be female. See Osbourne McConathy, "The Evolution of Public School Music in the United States: Music in the Public Schools of America prior to the Civil War," MSJ 10, no. 1 (October 1923): 10. These references, although not the main focus of the study, offered insights into sex stereotypes associated with specific musical activities.

16. [Peter W. Dykema], "Editorial Comment," Music Supervisors' Bulletin 1, no. 1 (September 1914): 3.

17. Throughout this article, I will refer to the periodical as the Music Supervisors' Journal or as the Journal (abbreviated in the endnotes to MSJ), even though the title for the first year of publication was the Music Supervisors' Bulletin.

18. "List of Members," MSJ 2, no. 1 (September 1915): 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30.

19. [George Oscar Bowen], "Editorial Comment," MSJ 8, no. 1 (October 1921): 4.

20. [George Oscar Bowen], "Editorial Comment," MSJ 9, no. 1 (October 1922): 1, 4.

21. For a discussion of the slogan, see Miessner, 12.

22. Significantly, musical organizations composed of boys were more likely to perform at national or regional conventions than were girls' organizations.

23. Leroy B. Campbell, "Music and Art in Education: A Vital Factor in Life," MSJ 6, no. 2 (November 1919): 28, 30.

24. A. E. Winship, "Appreciation of Appreciation," MSJ 1, no. 2 (November 1914): 16, 18.

25. Vivian Gray Little. Edited and Expanded by Peter W. Dykema, "Music in Schools and Colleges: A Selected Bibliography," ed. and expanded by Peter W. Dykema MSJ 4, no. 3 (January 1918): 30.

26. Campbell, 26.

27. The Executive Committee, W. Otto Miessner, Pres., "The President's Letter to Superintendents," MSJ 10, no. 3 (February 1924): 21.

28. Miessner, 51.

29. For a discussion of some nineteenth-century views on music and domesticity, see Julia Eklund Koza, "Music and References to Music in Godey's Lady's Book, 1830-1877," 4 vols., (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1988), 278-285, and 434-440.

30. "Focal Points: A Symposium of Particular Objects Some of Our Supervisors are Seeking to Accomplish this Year," MSJ 1, no. 2 (November 1914): 10.

31. "Focal Points: A Symposium," 10, 12.

32. Hollis Dann, "A State Program of Music Education," MSJ 10, no. 1 (October 1923): 47.

33. William L. Tomlins, "The Spirit of Music in Education," MSJ 8, no. 4 (March 1922): 35.

34. T. P. Giddings, "Boys' Glee Clubs in Grade Schools," MSJ 9, no. 2 (December 1922): 28.

35. "Final Program: Music Supervisors' National Conference, St. Joseph, Mo. April 4-8," MSJ 7, no. 4 (March 1921): 12.

36. Tomlins, 35.

37. Ibid.

38. The Executive Committee, W. Otto Miessner, Pres., 21.

39. "For Use in Your Local Paper," MSJ 5, no. 2 (November 1918): 28.

40. Campbell, 22.

41. Bessie M. Whiteley, "The Orchestra in the Grade Schools," MSJ 1, no. 3 (January 1915): 6; these comments were quoted in Gladys Arthur Brown, "Instrumental Music in Our Public Schools," MSJ 3, no. 4 (March 1917): 24.

42. Earl Barnes, "The Relation of Rhythmic Activity to Music the in the Education of the Future," MSJ 2, no. 2 (November 1915): 6-7.

43. [Examination attributed to Prof. Karl Gehrkens], "An Examination for Us All," MSJ 4, no. 1 (September 1917): 22, 24.

44. "Focal Points: A Symposium," 8.

45. John W. Beattie, "Impressions of St. Joseph," MSJ 7, no. 2 (November 1920): 5.

46. T. P. Giddings, Minneapolis, Minnesota, "The High School Chorus," MSJ 1, no. 3 (January 1915): 8. On rare occasions, males were more numerous than females. For an exceptional reference, see "Notes from the Field," MSJ 7, no. 3 (January 1921): 34.

47. "Notes from the Field," MSJ 7, no. 3 (January 1921): 34.

48. "Focal Points: A Symposium of Particular Objects Some of Our Supervisors are Seeking to Accomplish this Year," MSJ 1, no. 2 (November 1914): 5.

49. Peter W. Dykema, "The Contest Idea in Music," MSJ 10, no. 2 (December 1923): 18.

50. Dykema, "The Contest," 18, 58.

51. D. R. Gebhart ["Wake Up" only], "Jottings from Here and There. Wake Up the Superintendents!," MSJ 7, no. 2 (November 1920): 30.

52. Carl E. Seashore, "Vocational Guidance in Music," MSJ 3, no. 2 (November 1916): 22.

53. The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia: With a New Atlas of the World (New York, Century, 1911), 3: 1848.

54. Ibid.

55. William Little, H. W. Fowler, and J. Coulson, Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles, rev. and ed. C. T. Onions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), A-M: 586.

56. Campbell, 26.

57. T. Carl Whitmer ["A Study" only], "Significant Papers from the M.T.N A. A Study of the College Glee Club ," MSJ 2, no. 3 (January 1916): 22.

58. Charles H. Farnsworth, "A Golden Mean in School Music Education," MSJ 10, no. 3 (February 1924): 18.

59. Fred G. Smith, "Music and Manliness," MSJ 5, no. 1 (September 1918): 12.

60. Ibid.

61. T. P. Giddings and Earl L. Baker, "The High School Chorus," MSJ 7, no. 5 (April 1921): 34.

62. "Music Supervisors' National Conference: April 7-11--Cincinatti, Ohio," MSJ 10, no. 3 (February 1923): 23.

63. Mrs. Ann Dixon, "Taking Things As They Are," MSJ 2, no. 2 (November 1915): 28.

64. Giddings, "Boys' Glee Clubs in Grade Schools," 30, 33.

65. Florence E. Allen, "A Backward Look to Urge Us Forward: A Symposium on the Grand Rapids Meeting," MSJ 4, no. 1 (September 1917): 6.

66. "Final Program: Music Supervisors' National Conference, St. Joseph, Mo. April 4-8," 12.

67. Farnsworth , 16, 18.

68. Henry T. Moore, "Some Psychological Aspects of Public School Music," MSJ 10, no. 3 (February 1924): 55.

69. Moore, 55-56.

70. Barnes, 7-8.

71. Hollis Dann, "Book Review Section. A Letter and Two Book Reviews from Last Year's President, Hollis Dann, Ithaca, N. Y.," MSJ 7, no. 3 (January 1921): 13.

72. Ibid.

73. Dann, "Book Review Section," 13. This article contains another comment on this subject; see K. W. Gherken's remark on p. 15. see also, Will Earhart, "Book and Music Review," MSJ 9, no. 3 (February 1923): 34; and, Whitmer, 22.

74. "Music for Glee Clubs. Some Preliminary Lists," MSJ 7, no. 3 (January 1921): 17, 18, 20, 22, 24; and, "Music for Glee Clubs. Further Preliminary Lists," MSJ 7, no. 5 (April 1921): 26, 28.

75. Frederick Neil Innes, "The Musical Possibilities of the Wind Band," MSJ 10, no. 5 (May 1924): 42.

76. Whiteley, 6.

77. Ralph Wright, "The Grammar School Orchestra," MSJ 6, no. 3 (January 1920): 20.

78. Dixon, 30.

79. "Books for the Supervisors: A Symposium," MSJ 5, no. 3 (January 1919): 14; [Peter W. Dykema], "Editorial Comment. The Record of the Grand Rapids Conference," MSJ 4, no. 1 (September 1917): 3; and "Final Program of the Grand Rapids Meeting Music

Supervisors' National Conference: March 19-23, 1917," MSJ 3, no. 4 (March 1917): 5.

80. Karl W. Gehrkens, "Some Questions: Address of President Karl W. Gehrkens Before the Music Supervisors' National Conference, at Cleveland, Ohio," MSJ 9, no. 5 (May 1923): 49.

81. Elsie M. Shawe, "Voice Testing and Classification of Voices," MSJ 2, no. 4 (March 1916): 24.

82. Earhart, 43, mentioned the School Music Handbook by Cundiff and Dykema. The Handbook devoted a chapter to the changing voice; it acknowledged a voice change in both sexes but devoted most of the chapter to a discussion of boys. Proceedings of a national meeting held April 1923 were mentioned in "The Cleveland Meeting," MSJ 9, no. 3 (February 1923): 24. The subject of one presentation was "changed and changing voices." According to the proceedings, a clinic for both boys and girls was included in the presentation; the proceedings themselves focused primarily on boys, however.

83. "Music Supervisors' National Conference: April 7-11--Cincinatti, Ohio," 24. The program for this conference also appeared in MSJ 10, no. 4 (March 1924): 3.

84. See, for example, Russell V. Morgan, "Music and Morale: A Paper Read Before the Music Section of the Wisconsin Teachers' Association at Their Annual Meeting in Milwaukee, Thursday, Nov. 6, 1919," MSJ 6, no. 3 (January 1920): 24; [Attributed to John W. Beattie], "At The Front: Two Letters From France," MSJ 5, no. 1 (September 1918): 4-5; "Teaching Uncle Sam's Solders [sic] and Sailors to Sing," MSJ 4, no. 2 (November 1917): 30; and "War Songs in the Schools," MSJ 5, no. 2 (November 1918): 24.

85. See, for example, Kenneth S. Clark, "Work of the Committee on People's Songs," MSJ 9, no. 5 (May 1923): 40; "Music in War," MSJ 4, no. 1 (September 1917): 26; and "For Your Town Paper. Music Is Essential Says President Wilson: He Declares Disparagement of Music As A Luxury and Non-Essential Does the Nation Injury," MSJ 7, no. 4 (March 1921): 36.

86. See, for example, "Teaching Uncle Sam's," 30; Morgan, 22, 24, 26, 28; and "Music in War," 26.

87. Hilda Mayer, "A Symposium on the St. Louis Conference," MSJ 5, no. 4 (March 1919): 24; and "Music in War," 28.

88. "War Songs in the Schools," 26.

89. Morgan, 26.

90. [Attributed to Beattie], "At the Front," 5-6.

91. Frances Elliott Clark, "Music in Education," MSJ 5, no. 2 (November 1918): 18.

92. "How the Federated Clubs Are Helping," MSJ 4, no. 2 (November 1917): 18.

93. Helen Ware (In the Marcato Music-Lore), "A Message To You, Mother Music Lover," MSJ 4, no. 2 (November 1917): 22.

94. "Some English Opinions: Reprinted from the Musical Herald, London," MSJ 6, no. 3 (January 1920.): 30.

95. "A Postlude by Abe Martin," MSJ 7, no. 4 (March 1921): 4.

96. "For Use in Your Local Paper," MSJ 5, no. 3 (January 1919): 30.

97. Ibid.

98. D. R. Gebhart, "Music in the South," MSJ 8, no. 1 (October 1921): 16; and Dann, "A State Program," 44. Also, Frances E. Clark, "Music in Education," MSJ 8, no. 2 (December 1921): 20; Miessner, 57; "Southern Supervisors' Conference," MSJ 10, no. 5 (May 1924): 36; Cora Conway ["Community Songs" only], "Music in the Grades. Community Songs and Singing," MSJ 5, no. 1 (September 1918): 28; [George Oscar Bowen], "Editorial Comment. The Right Note Struck," MSJ 9, no. 2 (December 1922): 4; and Mrs. William D. Steele ["The Relation" only], "Big Ideas from St. Louis. The Relation of the Woman's Club to the Musical Life of the Community," MSJ 6, no. 2 (November 1919): 5-6.

99. "A Survey of the Giving of High School Credits for Private Music Study," MSJ 10, no. 4 (March 1924): 12.

100. "National Federation of Music Clubs: Prize Compositions," MSJ 10, no. 2 (December 1923): 49.

101. Edith M. Rhetts, "Symphony Orchestra in the Schools," MSJ 10, no. 4 (March 1924): 43; and Hamlin E. Cogswell ["District of Columbia" only], "Reports from the Field. District of Columbia," MSJ 4, no. 3 (January 1918): 16.

102. Edward Dickinson, "The Spirit of Music: Its Cultivation the Supervisor's Task," MSJ 10, no. 1 (October 1923): 24.

103. "Preliminary [illegible] visors' National 31 to April 4 14.

[illegible]mment," MSJ 9, no. 5

105. Clark, "Music in Education," 5, no. 2, p. 18.

106. Reported by Elizabeth Brixey, in "Helping Girls to Get Equal," Wisconsin State Journal 24 March 1992, sec. C, p. 1; according to Brixey, results of the Wellesley study, "The AAUW Report: How Schools Shortchange Girls," may be obtained for $16.95 by calling 800-225-9998.